

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MASS, PFOR, JO, SA

SUBJECT: JORDAN-HAWK FINANCING -- KING HUSSEIN'S MEETING
WITH THE SHAH

REF: AMMAN 1378 (NOTAL)

1. WE UNDERSTAND KING HUSSEIN IS SCHEDULED TO STOP OFF
TO SEE THE SHAH ON MARCH 17 ON THE WAY HOME FROM HIS
CURRENT FAR EAST TRIP. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR
YOU TO BRING TO THE SHAH'S ATTENTION, BEFORE HIS TALK
WITH HUSSEIN, CURRENT STATUS OF PROBLEM ON FINANCING
THE HAWK MISSILES WE HAVE PROMISED TO SUPPLY TO JORDAN.
THIS PROBLEM HAS MAJOR IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR RELATIONS
WITH JORDAN AND THE SHAH MAY FIND THAT IT LOOMS LARGE
IN HUSSEIN'S MIND.

2. ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND IS THAT WE AGREED LAST FALL TO
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SUPPLY 14 BATTALIONS OF IMPROVED HAWKS TO JORDAN, TOGETHER

WITH 100 VULCAN AA GUNS TO MAKE UP A CREDIBLE AIR DEFENSE PACKAGE. LACK OF AIR DEFENSE HAS BEEN SEEN BY THE JORDANIANS AS THEIR MAJOR MILITARY DEFICIENCY. OUR PROPOSAL TO SUPPLY THE HAWKS TO JORDAN RAN INTO CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION ON THE HILL AND DEAL WAS PERMITTED TO

GO THROUGH ONLY AFTER SENIOR DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAD MOUNTED MAJOR EFFORT TO OVERCOME CONGRESSIONAL RESISTANCE. SINCE THE JORDANIANS LACKED THE NECESSARY FUNDS THEMSELVES AND OUR OWN AID RESOURCES WERE ALMOST TOTALLY COMMITTED TO OTHER PURPOSES FOR JORDAN, HUSSEIN HAD SOUGHT HELP FROM THE SAUDIS AND THE SAG HAD AGREED TO FINANCE THE HAWK PURCHASE. LETTERS OF OFFER WERE SUBSEQUENTLY SIGNED, CONSTITUTING FIRM CONTRACT ON SUPPLY OF THE 14 BATTALIONS OF MISSILES PLUS VULCANS AND VARIETY OF ESSENTIAL SUPPORT ELEMENTS TO MAKE UP AN EFFECTIVE PACKAGE.

3. PROBLEM HAS ARISEN ON THE TOTAL COST OF THE PACKAGE. SAG APPEARS TO HAVE RECEIVED IMPRESSION THAT COST WOULD AMOUNT TO SOME DOLS 300 MILLION, A FIGURE WHICH WAS MENTIONED INFORMALLY AS BASIC HARDWARE COSTS IN EARLIER STAGES OF DISCUSSION OF THE PACKAGE BUT WHICH DID NOT TAKE ACCOUNT OF SOFTWARE NEEDS. THE ACTUAL COST OF THE OVERALL PACKAGE COVERED BY SIGNED LETTERS OF OFFER IS NOT FAR BELOW DOLS 800 MILLION, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE PAID OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL YEARS. THE SAG HAS BALKED AT PAYING THIS LATTER AMOUNT, AND HAS SENT HUSSEIN WORD THAT IT WOULD STAND ON ITS PROMISE OF DOLS 300 MILLION AND NO MORE. HUSSEIN'S RESPONSE, CONVEYED TO US BEFORE HE LEFT ON THE FAR EAST TRIP, WAS THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR HIM TO HAVE AN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM, AND SINCE HE DID NOT HAVE THE MEANS FOR PAYING FOR THE SYSTEM CONTRACTED WITH US, HE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK ELSEWHERE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM GOJ PRIMIN RIFAI THAT HUSSEIN PLANNED TO TURN TO MOSCOW AND ACCEPT A STANDING SOVIET OFFER OF ARMS ASSISTANCE. SPECIFICALLY, WE WERE TOLD THAT JORDAN WISHED TO APPLY THE DOLS 300 MILLION PROMISED BY SAUDI ARABIA TO COVER THE COST OF AN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM TO BE PROCURED FROM THE SOVIETS.

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4. GOJ SEEMS TO HAVE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SAUDIS WOULD BE WILLING TO LET THEIR DOLS 300 MILLION BE APPLIED TOWARDS A SOVIET PURCHASE, BUT FROM OUR TALKS WITH THE SAUDIS IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT THIS IS SO. WE BELIEVE THE SAG WOULD TAKE A QUITE DIM VIEW OF HUSSEIN'S TURNING TO MOSCOW FOR ANYTHING SO CRITICAL AS AN AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM.

5. AFTER DRAWING ON THE ABOVE BACKGROUND, YOU SHOULD INFORM THE SHAH THAT WE TOO SEE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS IN JORDAN'S STRIKING UP AN ARMS-SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS. THIS WOULD BRING THEM INTO A COUNTRY WHERE THEY HAVE NOT HITHERTO BEEN PRESENT IN ANY IMPORTANT WAY.

THE INTRODUCTION OF SOVIET-SUPPLIED MISSILES WOULD INEVITABLY BE A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE ISRAELIS. BEYOND THAT, IT WOULD BE SEEN WIDELY AS A MAJOR SETBACK FOR THE US AND A POLITICAL VICTORY FOR THE USSR, WITH A VERY SERIOUS RISK OF UPSETTING THE DELICATE POLITICAL EQUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH ALL THAT THAT MAY PORTEND FOR THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS.

6. YOU SHOULD ALSO INFORM THE SHAH THAT WE HAVE THIS MATTER UNDER URGENT REVIEW AND PLAN TO BE DISCUSSING IT AGAIN VERY SHORTLY WITH BOTH KING HUSSEIN AND THE SAG. WE WISHED AT THIS POINT INFORM HIM IN CONFIDENCE OF WHERE THE MATTER STANDS. IF THE SUBJECT COMES UP IN HIS TALK WITH HUSSEIN, ASSUMING HE SHARES OUR BASIC ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM, WE HOPE THE SHAH WILL TELL HUSSEIN OF HIS OWN CONCERNS AND THE DANGERS OF JORDAN'S TURNING TO THE SOVIETS FOR SOMETHING AS SIGNIFICANT AS A MISSILE AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM. IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL, FURTHERMORE, IF THE SHAH FELT HE COULD GO SO FAR AS TO COUNSEL HUSSEIN TO PERSIST IN TRYING TO WORK SOMETHING OUT WITH THE US AND THE SAG ON THIS ISSUE. KISSINGER

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